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WHOLE NO. 305

From the Friend of Man.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Dr. Bailey—
Sir:—Pardon the freedom of a stranger, in bringing before you the sentiments of a co-operative in the great field of human rights. Perhaps by comparing opinions more frequently, on the subject of American Slavery and its remedy, we may find that those, who are separated by many degrees of latitude or longitude, may view this great crime and its cure not essentially alike. That which is the oftenest considered, will be the best understood, and what is intended to be embraced in the great issue now making up the character of this nation is a question in which the character of this nation is deeply involved, and on which the happiness of tens of thousands and the freedom of millions may depend; and must be one always claiming and summoning to its consideration, the most patriotic and far-seeing of her sons. If this communication should be the means of your placing your views before the world on the momentous questions alluded to by me, one of the greatest objects of this letter will have been accomplished.

The work of the Revolution was fairly stated out, embracing the political freedom of the colonies—the personal liberty of each one, in the immortal Declaration of Independence.

The great Declaration is a summary of colonial and personal injustice. The sword in seven years, cut loose the colonies from their bondage. The dismemberment was ratified. Our country took her seat at the council board of nations. The young sovereignty limped up into the temple of nations, with the Declaration of Independence spread, in her right hand, with a whip and fetter in her left, followed by a slave, while the blush mantled on her cheek, and revealed the struggles of her shame, and what she lacked in the sincerity of intent, she contrived to counterfeit by a certain impudence of pretense—and what she lost by force of position, she would fain make up, by the ingenuity of her abstractions. Theoretically, the relation of slave and master, king and people, was dissolved. The Declaration of Independence struck up, and the hand of the king fell off; it struck down, and the hand of the master was unclenched. Slavery since then has been constitutional man-stealing and legal kidnapping; slavery though once laid out for interment, was not buried, but was in fact, an ill-omened resurrection of a fungus, on the body politic, and was strapped and bandaged up with the other sores of the Revolution, and instead of excision, it now claims the dignity of being a "peculiar institution," whose increasing weight makes the body politic, by which it is nursed, reel and stagger under its ponderous load.

The past year has given some encouraging preliminary symptoms of that final and frightful collapse of a system of crime, which has battered in the tears and blood of men, from century to century, and age to age.

Great injustice will not last forever. Accumulated sorrows of sweating nations, were sent out somewhere. In a single morning of August, 1831, eighty-four disembodied spirits were summoned from the Southampton massacre, to stand before the Eternal, as witnesses of justice long denied, and hope crushed in the bosom of the slave. Were the green earth of this nation carpeted with Decalogues beaming with celestial light from every word; were the blue heavens of this land curtained with aphorisms of eternal truth, and the leaf of every tree in the forest or the field, instinct with declarations of the equality and universal liberty conferred by God on man; still one guiltless slave held as a chattel, by the law, would give the lie direct, to this festooned and emblazoned hypocrisy of high sounding moral assertion. The abstractions of this nation are divine ethics, but the practice, iniquity's rules of action. It seems to be thought important that a man's abstract belief be right; then his practice is his own affair, for which he is not accountable.

It is difficult to define the position of a nation whose morality terminates in the orthodoxy of its abstractions. No nation in which the religion of Moses and Christ prevails, was ever rich enough to perform its labor by slaves. Slavery will cost a nation its self-respect, also the loss of the labor of those who rely on slavery for support, also the loss of the poor free-man's labor, who will not work, where labor is disgraced as the business of slaves. Slavery will bankrupt its community every ten years, because slavery will not and cannot do enough to maintain a community, where the majority are idle. The deficit which slavery does not supply must be supplied by stealthy credit, and paid in repudiation and bankruptcy. Slavery blots the line between mine and thine, and elevates the greatest crime into a "peculiar institution."

The commerce of such a country is quickened into life by the whip; the groans of fathers, the tears of mothers are the indications of its progress.

The cracking lash from twice ten thousand cotton fields, is the mournful music of their progress from day to day to life's end. The slaveholder cramps the immortal power of his slave, to make the animal portion more available. I repeat, no nation is rich enough to use immoral man as property. It is too valuable for the base purpose, to which he is applied. What farmer could prosperously till his cornfield with a golden plough, with handles of iron pearls? It may be asked if slavery expired on the 4th July, 1776, how has it come down to us, with so much brass on its front, claiming the assistance of the Constitution, as its great patron? The answer is, there was no days-man, no savior, no Granville Sharp, to stand up between the oppressor with power, and the helpless oppressed. Had God seen fit to have raised a Sharpe to have proclaimed that slaves could not breathe in these United States, the first moment they touched our soil, the abiding electricity of the great Declaration might have melted their chains; there was a divinity in its language, and a force in its terms, that casuistry could not resist, or robbery prevent.

Lord Mansfield, who for more than 20 years, ruled the judicial mind of Westminster Hall, by the supremacy of his own, twice in the King's Bench on solemn argument pronounced slavery a part of the law of England. But the great Granville Sharpe, consecrated himself to the noble work of exploring the deepest spring of English liberty, the waters of whose fountain

when by Sharpe presented to this same court, Lord Mansfield declared to be the true nectar of English liberty, and that from that day henceforth forever, no slave could breathe who had placed his feet on the soil of beetle-cliffed England. That was the eau de vie, the water of life; and Somerset's case will be regarded to the world's end, as the re-discovery of the long-lost spring of English liberty. If we had had a Sharpe to have taken a slave, on a writ of habeas corpus, before the first Chief Justice Jay of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1789 or 1790, while the great truths were yet in the memory of men, while gratitude to God was felt for the white man's deliverance from a foreign yoke, before the cotton gin—the black man's curse—was invented, who can tell but that the slave might have been proclaimed free?

But alas! the claimants of human flesh were constitution-makers, law-givers, law-interpreters, and law-executioners. Construction and definition came mainly, from those interested to perpetuate a crime as disastrous, in the end, to themselves and their posterity, as to the victims of this aggravated villainy. Slavery has eaten out the very soul of words, and every intendment raised in behalf of liberty, and every presumption raised against cruelty and injustice is broken down, by violent construction, shamefully at war with the benignity of the common law. The common law presumes all men free, till the contrary appears, without regard to color. Slavery presumes a colored man a slave, until he proves himself free. I solemnly believe if the Constitution were to be interpreted by the Judges of Westminster Hall, slavery would cease in a single day in the District of Columbia; and it would be told, it could not derive a single power to hold a colored man by virtue of that instrument.

Has there ever been a Judge at Washington, who delivered a judicial opinion, in which the rights of the slave were involved, but came to the consideration of the question, under the horrible weight of injustice, so deep, that the loftiest intellect might flag and falter, by the debasement of its employment which instead of weighing out the justice of Heaven, is basely employed in lending its sanction to the clutching of robbery, the greediness of injustice, and the baseness of avarice. Look at the pompous prowling white man, and the poor powerless black one, contesting their rights in a slaveholding forum! Could the black man have summoned as much influence and power as the white, and employed able counsel to vindicate his rights, Oh, what glorious triumphs would truth and liberty have made over falsehood and tyranny; the world would have rung with the grandest efforts of mind which had ever arrested the attention of mankind, from the time of Demosthenes to the days of Cicero; from Paul to Luther, or from Bacon and Raleigh to Edmund Burke and Patrick Henry.

But no, the colored man's oath could never be heard in the Sanctuary of Justice, for wrong done him by one of the Caucasian race. He was poor, he could employ no counsel to aid by strong arguments to drive deep the stakes of liberty. In the last half century, there have been wrongs enough inflicted by the white upon the colored race, to have kept all the courts of the civilized world well employed, in administering and weighing out natural justice to these injured ones.

We therefore as abolitionists, should never make a single admission, in relation to the construction of our Constitution which might tell against the slave. It is craven to admit any thing against the colored man, in favor of piratical legislation. Every act organic or legislative, morally, so far as it bears on the slave, is clearly null and void in the court of conscience, it being made to take rights from him, without his consent, and which natural justice would declare wrong. It is ethically wrong to admit that the slaveholder has one right, however acquired, when that right is carved out of the natural ones of the slave, no matter how strongly the slaveholder's right may be upheld by a covenant or league on the part of the free states. For neither the slave nor free states had any moral jurisdiction over the African, to reduce the quantum of his political and personal rights, below the average of the great community. But when we point to the Constitution or laws of the Union or States, as evidence of rights secured to the master, to the disparagement of the slave, whose whole life, and that of his race, have been continued protest and dissent thereto, our act is morally preposterous in the extreme.

No doubt many tender consciences suppose there is something perversely radical in the above proposition, and that such doctrine is dangerously immoral; and these persons seem, although subject to an abolition influence, anxious to stone for their small spice of abolition, by asserting the validity of the master's claim, whatever it may be, when propped by constitutions, legislation, or judicial decisions. This looks too much like being as liberal as a prince in another man's house.

The ground I take, is, that all slave laws being made in derogation of all right, humane or divine, and by the robber against the robbed, of the strong against the weak, and without consideration or consent express or implied, on the part of the slave, and for the entire profit and advantage of the master and to the never ending injury of the slave, therefore it seems to me, that the facts here assumed as entering into any law to uphold slavery, directly or remote, are of themselves evidence of the most stupendous fraud which can be committed through the instrumentality of one class of men upon that of another. Then we may refer to the civil law, the law of nations, the common law; and it is the unbroken current of authority of all these laws that fraud avoids all contracts and all proceedings however solemn, as a judgment, or decree of the highest courts; and even acts of parliament when pronounced by fraud, are all null and void, however high the authentication of their solemnities. But slavery, so far as written laws come to its support, is always stamped with fraud, as clearly, as though in the preamble to the law it was to recite, that "Whereas, it is right for the strong to rob the weak, the powerful to deprive the helpless of themselves, and appropriate them and their posterity to their own use; and whereas morality and honesty in the transactions of men are exploded traits belonging to an obsolete age, and the man, who by night or day, or by the most flagitious fraud

can circumvent his fellow being, is well entitled to the fruits of his knavery; therefore be it enacted, that if A is stronger than B, he has a better right to B's body than B has to himself, if A by fraud, stratagem, or force can violate B's natural right, that is to be taken as evidence that B was not made for himself, but for his stronger neighbor's use.

Again, is it not the essence of absurdity, for us to contend that the constituted powers of this nation are constitutionally capable of being employed to uphold slavery, but these same constituted authorities are constitutionally powerless to do justice to the slave, and restore him to his liberty?

We never should admit that we are under a moral obligation to do wrong, and have therefore no legal power to do right. Many are in haste to admit that we have conspired by compact, against the liberties of the colored man, & that morality requires we should be pertinaciously and wickedly consistent in carrying out the original knavery of our contract, to crush forever the rights of two and a half millions of men, and that we exhausted our power to do good, in the great evil we undertook to perform; therefore if indeed we desired now to do right, we have no power; or at any rate, morality demands we should be villains, because we so agreed, rather than become just and honest men, at the expense of breaking a murderer's covenant. We have thrust the innocent man into the dungeon, but have no power, say some, to lift him out. Our constitutional power being exercised to destroy the rights of man, is a spent power, and when a sense of our crime appears to us, and we would desire to redress the wrong we have done, some tell us, alas! we have no space for repentance, because we are constitutionally moral bankrupts. Every admission made of constitutional inability to redress any and every act of injustice, direct or remote, affecting the liberties of any of our countrymen, touching any point wherein we have heretofore wronged them, is as cowardly as it is untrue. It has however, often been done to propitiate slaveholding and pro-slavery wrath; but we have always lost in self-respect, more than we have gained, by our pusillanimity. It is wrong to make merchandise of even a legal opinion which goes to confirm the conquests of the buccaner. The proposition cannot be doubted that we have power to take back every thing wrong in the Constitution or law, to which we or our fathers have lent their sanction, affecting the rights of colored men. We can abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and between the slave states, because these two kinds of slavery derive their power from the Constitution, whether rightfully or wrongfully I will not stop to inquire. The fugitive slave act of 1793, by which the free states have become the hunter's great forest of human game, can be abolished by Congress. The internal slave-trade, and the act of 1793, abolished slavery could not stand five years. Then there is the war power of Congress, & the treaty power, and the guaranty in the Constitution of a republican form of Government to each state; who dare affirm or deny that some of these powers may be equal to the abolition of slavery in all of the states?

Without pausing to reason for a moment, on any of these remedies, I may be permitted to say no reasonable abolitionist should ever suffer his mind to be perplexed for a moment with the notion that we have not power to undo all the wrong which we have inflicted on the slave. The bare discharge of the free states in money and men from all obligation to aid in suppressing slave insurrections and to deliver up fugitives, would compel the slave to manumit for their own safety. The South, were they to rely on themselves for protection from insurrection, would be compelled to dot its whole territory with forts; not less than 2000 would be required, to protect the women and children.—The forts required, at \$20,000 each would be \$40,000,000, and the munitions, arms, &c., to furnish in a small degree each fort, could not be less than \$10,000 each, or \$20,000,000 more, which added to the cost of forts would amount to \$60,000,000—strange mode of extorting labor in the nineteenth century! Secretary Upshur refers to this mode of defending the South in his late report. If the forts were built, the slaves would find them as good points to rally for insurrection, as the master for protection.

Again, the great staple of the South, cotton, has found a competition in the British East Indies, where enough probably will be grown in ten years to supply the necessities of men, at about half the price, at which cotton has heretofore been sold. To enable the southern planter with his reckless mode of conducting his affairs to compete successfully against the cheap free labor of India, would require cotton-gin and slaves to be given to him, as a governmental bounty, or donation, in the start.

The first streak of light which appeared after the Revolution was a lurid one shot forth some 26 years since; and men have disputed from that time to this, whether it was a prismatic ray of the ascending glories of the Sun of Liberty, or whether it was not a false light flung up from the pent fires of slavery. It is called the Colonization Society. A few good men in the North had a hazy, indistinct idea of the immeasurable wrongs of slavery, and could find no measures for its redress, except expatriation beyond the Atlantic, of those freedmen who had once been its victims. The North thought they saw in this Society the colored man elevated on the other side of the globe, and the slaveholders saw something more congenial; they saw the freedman, by them hated, because he was free, cut off from all sympathy with the slave, no more to be the bondman's eyes and feet, the slave made safe, his value increased, his escape impossible. This Society was a strange confusion of benevolence and fraud, of northern indefiniteness and southern avarice, glossed with good intentions, controlled by southern sagacity, as heartless as it was specifically selfish, believing in the safety-valve for troubled consciences, and a sure way to make slavery valuable and perpetual.

About this time or shortly after, the slaves, it is supposed, organized two distinct missions, one the free State, and the other the Canada mission. The object of these missions appears to have been to send off slaves to Liberty.—These societies, without funds or agents, or the countenance of a single member of Congress or a Doctor of Divinity, (but the whole constituted authorities of this country, by sea and

land, armed against them,) have done a very spirited and successful business, (although the slavetrade is forbidden,) this society deals in nothing but slaves, sent away by these missions, five persons, where the Colonization Society has sent one to Africa. The Colonization Society seems to be a sponge, to absorb the unregarded and floating sympathy, which men feel to do something to wash out the villainess of slavery.

When men cease to delude themselves with the folly, that the expatriation of a few thousand freedmen, is the same as the emancipation of two and half millions of slaves, then, and not till then, will the Colonization Society be powerless, for the purpose of mischief. Long continued injustice done to man, must burst up somewhere, sooner or later. In August, 1831, eighty four disembodied spirits stood before the Eternal, while their murdered clay lay on their own hearth stones weltering in their gore, in Southampton.

Slavery did it. Slave insurrections on sea or land with murder is a part of the shocking system. In 1832 a few northern noble spirits, deeply pitying the condition of the slave, and perceiving the hopelessness of Colonization, determined that the only remedy for slavery was unconditional emancipation. And in the last ten years there has been performed an amount of labor, by the Anti-Slavery Reformers, without a parallel in any of the past ages of benevolence in the world.

Both of the great parties who contended for the mastery of the Republic hoped to flatter the South by a base and profound acknowledgment of various constitutional compacts implied, upholding slavery, which never existed, and by abusing abolitionists without stint or measure—this was the competition between those great parties, who from that day to this have poured from a thousand presses concocted and deliberate falsehoods, to bereave the friends of Man of their characters for humanity, sense, patriotism, and every quality which can elevate or ennoble man. These parties have set mob ferociousness upon us, demolished private buildings, destroyed the sanctuaries of the living God, and devoted to the flames the most beautiful temple ever erected to Liberty on this continent; they laid their Vandal hands upon the printing presses and destroyed them; and above all, they inflicted dreadful scourging upon our most worthy men; they levied fines contrary to law on some, imprisoned others, and finally murdered Lovejoy the martyr.

We were compelled, poor and sparse as we were, to erect and maintain presses, papers, and publish books, pamphlets, reviews, magazines, and in fact to create in self-defence, and that of the rights of our race, a literature of our own, in which to emblazon the sorrows of insulted man. We have been refused the columns of papers to refute the vilest calumnies which those same papers had originated or circulated. The public mind was so far misled, as to the objects of the abolitionists, as to believe slaveholders to be the innocent victims of position, and that abolitionists were justly deprived of trials by jury, as monsters too great to be entitled to any thing but the headlong vengeance of Lynch Law.

The abolitionists of the United States, on bended knees, besought the great denominational divisions of the church to throw open the doors of their churches, and view the poor slave as the representative of their ascended Redeemer. This great honor we tendered them in the imploring, bowels of compassion, & in every form of entreaty, argument and remonstrance. These churches have been besought to tell their brethren of the same sect or connection in the South, that slavery was a sin against God, a crime against man; and to let the oppressed go free. But these churches refused to admonish and do the glorious work, and preferred union in iniquity to schism for the love of God and man. Had the church as her character imports, opened her arms for the pleading and bleeding slave, long ere this, it is believed, the work of emancipation would have been complete; and political action by a liberty party rendered unnecessary. But she declined the Heaven-declared honor; she refused in most cases to hear a message from him just ready to perish, or give notice of the meetings in which to listen to the tales of his long unheeded sorrows.

We then besought the authorities of our national Capitol with uncounted petitions asking Congress to exercise the constitutional power it possessed to break the slave's yoke. When the petition of the slave's friend was read in Congress, the slaveholding Representatives sent up a shriek which pierced the Capital dome, and, for about the space of two hours, "they cried out, Great is Diana of the Ephesians!"

Two hours did I say? have they not cried so from that day to this, in behalf of slavery?—Have they not walked over the prostrate Constitution of their country? have they not unrequited, unrequited, and unrequited, sent petitions signed by more than two millions of our citizens to the Congressional sepulchre? Have not the most solemn appeals, for the last eight years, praying the emancipation of thousands of our native born citizens from slavery the most awful, been treated with an indignity surpassed only by a fanaticism which could break down the barriers of the Constitution to strike down the imploring slave; in the first moment, of his trembling hope, when the first ray of light fell upon his chains, it was to be extinguished by a darkness which cast its common shadow over the Anglo-Saxon's constitutional hope, and the poor African's only expectation.

But this entombment of a nation's recorded philanthropy is not a final rest; it shall have a resurrection with the flush of injured immortality on its cheek, defying her assassins; and shall publish the glory of her redemption, where there is a slave to be set free, or a free-man to rejoice.

We have appealed to the church, and she has declined the honor. We appealed to Congress, and she threw us back our petitions, mixed with the broken fragments of the Constitution. We have appealed to the slaveholder; he points to the faggot and the flame. What shall we do?

The nation is about to become all slaves or free-men together. The thirteen slave States have found slavery too expensive a mode of existence without practising at least decennially on mankind that robbery, through bankruptcy,

and repudiation, which they continue to inflict upon their slaves. These slave States are insolvent; showing their deformity abroad, and revealing their nakedness at home.

They have struck down by tariff legislation that prosperity in the North which they had neither the power to imitate, nor the firmness to pursue.

The Nation is rushing upon the crisis of her destiny with a momentum augmenting the velocity of her speed, proportioned to the increasing light of her criminality. For already the man of Vermont and the citizen of Michigan hear in the sight of the south wind the cry of the slave, saying, "cease to prevent my escape; cease to oppose my insurrection for that liberty for which your fathers fought and bled; cease to provide the southern fort and arsenal, by your taxes, to keep us down; vote me free; remember me at the ballot-box, where you stand one of the sovereigns of this empire of slaves; you have the power—God give you the will!"

Congress by means of slaveholding bullies, has lost its character as a deliberative body; it is the national bench-garden; a more licentious body than the French Constituent Assembly when torn by Girondist and Mountain factions; for those murdered their sovereign; these, our Constitution and the nation's character.

Slavery has ruled this land. The robbed Cherokee has been driven from the council-fires and graves of his forefathers, by the slaveholding bayonet, to find a new home in the land of the setting sun, and leaves behind the legacy of a wronged and ruined people's curse; and as band after band of the brave Seminoles are forced from their everglades to the solitudes of the distant West, we may well fear the seven last plagues of the Apocalypse will be poured upon us, for the wrongs committed against them, and the slaves of this land.

We have tried the inapplicable system of questioning the political candidates, in this land; hoping by that lever to pry open the prison doors.

A new kind of political literature sprung up in the North, in which the Jesuits were fairly distanced, in their own celebrated art; the catechism of humanity was answered by the political catechisms in such mode as "to keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope."

There was as much honest complaint against the askers of questions as the answers. Bad faith was the result on the part of the voter and voted—crimination and recrimination had bro't us to the border of ruin. We were determined for a while, that the whig and democratic parties should perform this exalted work of humanity, and we seemed to think, by a sort of political expediency in barter, that the anxiety felt for our votes, by the candidates nominated by those parties, would revolutionize their sentiments, and make them sincere advocates of the rights of the slave. We never by this course, gained truth an advocate, or humanity a friend. Ten candidates either before or after the election apologized for any abolition tendencies in their moral frame-work, or by force of position, to one who has avowed his fidelity to our principles.

The truth has been, both parties have been so corrupt as to employ all their ingenuity to fix on their adversary, the stigma of upholding abolition; while each sought to wipe out the blot of humanity, some by a bold impudent blow, struck full in the face of Liberty, as an atonement for the suspicion of being just. The effect at last was that a genuine abolitionist of either of these parties, could not be nominated for a law-making trust, but was put under the ban of proscription. And when a man was nominated, who by accident bore the proscribed cognomen of abolitionist, he was found almost uniformly to be a man, who from futility of his powers, could render our cause no service, and would, if a man of some talent, always as between abolition and party, in a pinch, go for party and sacrifice the slave, at the very moment his strength was the most wanted; these men who nominated were stool-pigeons to catch our votes. But did such a whig candidate inspire confidence enough, in a democrat abolitionist to obtain his vote; or vice versa; in a whig abolition voter, if the candidate were democratic? So nothing but harm was gained.—We boxed the compass of expedients. The Church, Congress, the candidates, they "were all broken reeds on whose sharp points hope bled and expectation died." We had made the experiment; and had sat down satisfied that we could not bribe men to do right, for the hope of gaining or the fear of losing our votes.

This brought the abolitionists to a solemn pause. They looked all around the horizon for help; they saw Liberty everywhere in the dust; the moral and pecuniary resources of the nation evaporating; the Republic through its great parties and denominations, with her literature both in church and state, bowing down before the great monster slavery. What should be done? Was this god-like enterprise to be abandoned in despair? Must the avenging sword, the mid-night flame, the forlorn shriek of despair, be the only remedy for this crime?

God forbid, that the fair plains of the South should be delivered over to the Vandals of such a terrible necessity! We found on review that heretofore we ourselves had voted for President and members of Congress who had refused to lift an ounce of the weight that crushed the slave, yea more, voted to continue the fetters on, and in fact were the body guard of slavery.

By a little reflection we saw ourselves thro' the ballot-box forbidding the slave's deliverance, and refusing the repeal of a single law, by which he was bound.

In looking this question over in its amazing breadth, we in the fear of God, determined to discharge our duty, without any relation to measures of subtil contrivance, or of expediency; and if we did our individual duty, on others than ourselves must be fixed the sin of the continuance of slavery.

We are born under a selfocracy, and came from our Creator with a charter commanding us to do the greatest good to the greatest number; and "do unto others as we would that others should do unto us." This is believed to be one of the highest religious duties we can perform in this world. We are bound to select and vote for those legislative and executive officers, who

will employ their best faculties, and all the constitutional power within their reach, "to break every yoke and let the oppressed go free."—We stand at the ballot-box legislating; for our representative is but our agent, our servant, the mere reflection of our concentrated will.

Every prayer, argument, speech, gift or act, this side of the ballot-box, is moral suasion; if the vote is cast for a liberty candidate, then we test and prove the sincerity of the prayer; then we perceive that moral suasion has done its work. Our prayer, argument or moral suasion, with its infinite appliances, may be likened to a court of justice, the opening, the evidence, the pleadings of the counsel and the charging of the judge; this I call moral suasion, but the verdict of the jury is like the vote at the ballot-box; that is the great fact, this is the great act of power. But the man who talks of argument and prayer and moral suasion, and still votes for a President or a member of Congress who will vote the fetters of the slave continued on, that the slave still weep for blows inflicted, that he still be deprived of his wife, child, Bible and hope, and will not vote a chain to be taken off; or a voter, prayer and moral suasion have never had a controlling effect, or he would not so vote; for his agents, voting this way or refusing to vote that, is the act of the voter as much as the representatives.

The voter votes in Congress yea or nay thro' his representative. In voting for a member of Congress, or President, or a member of the State Legislature (who votes for the Senators in Congress) our acts affect for weal or woe every bondman or free man in this great country.—What other act in the event tear of a common man's life, can equal this? Is it not in his ballot that he demonstrates before God and man the piety and purity of his act?

Let us look at the anti-slavery and pro-slavery law-givers standing at the ballot-box ready to deposit their votes, for a President or members of Congress. The Liberty Party man has on his vote the name of a genuine abolitionist, as a candidate for Congress, and in that name concentrated his whole code of Christian humanity; in that name on that ballot is impliedly these words by the voter: "I vote for the greatest good of the greatest number; I vote the Declaration of Independence a solemn & practical reality; I vote the right of petition be restored; I vote a slave is a man and not a thing, and has a better right to his own body, and his labor, and to his wife and children than any other person on earth; I vote the slave has his own Bible, and be permitted to read it and worship God as he sees fit; I vote that his little children be sent to school; I vote slavery abolished in the District of Columbia, and in Florida, forthwith; I vote the internal slave-trade between the States be abolished, that the infernal trade be punished as piracy on the high seas; I vote for the repeal of the act of February of 1793, by which the slave holder pursues the fugitive slave in the free states; I vote that the republican form of government guaranteed to each State in the Constitution, is one in point of form described in the Declaration of Independence, in which the government is made for the benefit of the governed; and that all men are created free and equal; I vote all acts of the several State Legislatures conflicting with the form of government aforesaid described, be declared null and void, even if it set every slave free as its consequence; I vote that if it becomes necessary for the common defence of our country under the war power, to take the southern chattels, called slaves and convert them into men, and put arms in their hands; I then vote the same will be a constitutional mode of giving them liberty, and to hold the converse of this is to declare slavery must be continued, and that it is more important than the salvation of this nation from a foreign foe, or the integrity of the Union in case of domestic insurrection; I vote that either the war power, or the treaty power may in certain contingencies be competent sources of power for the abolition of slavery in this nation."—The vote goes in, and the voter's legislation and control over the slave are already gone, for two years.

Let us see what is contained in the eye of Reason, in the name of a pro-slavery candidate for Congress. The pro-slavery voter stands likewise the legislator of two years, at the ballot box, and on that vote of his in the name of the candidate is written in the eye of experience these other words: "I vote that my candidate for Congress if elected, act with and under the dominion of his party, and if it be necessary to preserve the power of our party that in casting his votes, he bow down to the slaveholders, then so I vote; I vote the Declaration of Independence is a rhetorical flourish, that all men are not born free and equal; I vote slavery be continued in the District of Columbia, and the internal slave-trade be prosecuted; I vote that a master has a better right to his slave, and to that slave's wife and children, than the slave has to himself or them; I vote the slave has no Bible; I vote that the whip, cudgel and fetter be used as the master sees fit; I vote the act of 1793 be unrepealed.—In fact I vote that slavery remain one of the "institutions of this country." The vote has gone in, the voter's power is spent, and that vote has sent a tornado shock through the frame of the most remote slave, who dips his bucket in the waters of the Mexican Gulf, or lifts his hoe on the banks of the Perdido.

How can a man pray and plead 720 days for the slave, and on the 730th day, when he is armed with the power of a sovereign, when he is about to do an act which has more power and efficacy, than all he has said and done for two years past? prostitute it and go and vote for the master?—vote all he has said and prayed for the slave to be bald hypocrisy?—What would the master say to such a voter? "Ah! well done good and faithful servant, you keep your prayers, tears and pleas for the slave, but in the trying moment, you give the power to me. It is all I ask." If the slave were to upbraid an abolitionist, who had voted for the master, or a pro-slavery candidate; would not such a voter have to apologise and say, "Oh! Slave, have I not talked, plead and given my money, to wake up the public to your case, for 720 days, and do you suppose I am also to vote for you? no, that is too much; my 730th day is my own, my vote I give to my party, and your master."—"But," says the slave, "give your 720 days of prayer, moral suasion and alms to my master, and only vote for me by

casting your vote for an abolitionist, and I am content." Have we not tried these parties long enough? On the free States rests the crime of slavery. There are 1,700,000 law-makers or voters in this land, and more than one million of them live in the free States. We can elect President, Vice President and a majority of the House of Representatives, and 26 Senators from the free States, who with the Vice President make a majority of the Senate. Is not the mighty power of legislation contained in a vote as applied to this amazing question, one which involves all that is vital in Christianity, dreadful in the day of everlasting retribution? Does not this voting assume an aspect as sublime as the Christian religion can make it, in discharging our duty to our fellow man, whose shackles we can strike off or retain? We consider it a most glorious revolution, in our own minds, by which we see this law-making or voting to be a duty which exceeds in its consequences to our brother man, any other act, which we can perform, touching the liberties and hopes in time and eternity of two and a half millions of men—a duty big with the most important consequences, being for good or evil, the greatest, yes, infinitely the greatest act we can perform for or against man in passing through this world.

We have treated voting and politics heretofore, as something doubtful in morals, but at all events as a subject on which there was no accountability to God. We have acted as though voting was a sort of neutral act, in which there was neither sin nor holiness, right nor wrong, however done. We have acted as though voting was an act performed on a neutral territory, where the power of God did not extend on the one side for approbation, nor on the other for condemnation. The American Ballot has been treated in such a way, in the pulpit and out, that a stranger might suppose we were political infidels.

Now may we not thank God that the anti-slavery cause has been the means of opening our eyes to the dignity and responsibility of legislation with the fear of God before our eyes. We cannot bind and load our brother with fetters at the ballot-box, and be less guilty before God, than he who does it on a plantation. Alas, alas! for 52 years or 26 times the American voters have gone up to the ballot-box and taken the awful sin and crime of slavery on their own souls, by refusing to listen to the Souvenir of the slave, but have joined hands with the wicked master, and silenced the mournful cry of God's unspilt blood, and added law to law, weight to weight, to his insupportable burdens. Let each man legislate under his deep accountability to Heaven, and there would never be a pro-slavery vote cast again.

I hope it may not be inconsistent with your other editorial duties, to give us the benefit of your reflections, in the Philanthropist, on the topics, to which I have rather alluded than discussed. We know that Dr. Bailey has most justly, for his great talents, devotion and steadfast sincerity to our cause, obtained over the anti-slavery mind of this country, a wide-spread influence. Your power to carry forward our cause from the foregoing reasons and from your local position, is great. I therefore feel a deep solicitude to know there is no real difference of opinion among the friends of our glorious cause, as to the extent of the evil we deprecate, or in the remedy we would adopt.

With sentiments of the highest respect, I am your sincere friend,
ALVAN STEWART.

To the Editor of the Detroit Free Press.
MR. O'CONNELL.

Sir—In your paper of the 23d instant, just put into my hands, there is an extract of a publication made by Bishop Hughes, of New York, in which a doubt is insinuated as to the genuineness of the anti-slavery address, to Irishmen in this country by Mr. O'Connell, Father Mathew, Doctor Madden and sixty thousand Irishmen. In the extract, which is all I have seen of the publication, there is nothing to show that Bishop Hughes adduces any evidence even to give color to the charge.

It seems abundantly strange that one so intelligent as the Right Reverend gentleman, and so well informed as he ought to be, must be, as to the sentiments of Mr. O'Connell, Father Mathew, Dr. Madden, and the Irish at home universally, on the subject of slavery, and in absence of all evidence should deny the genuineness of so remarkable a document. One so skeptical must be prepared almost to doubt the existence of Father Mathew himself, & of the glorious temperance reformation, with which he has been the instrument under God, of blessing not only his own country, but ours. Nor is it, for one of Bishop Hughes's character and official station, putting but a trifle to hazard. It is no light thing in any one, and it is a very serious thing for him, who stands before the country clothed with the influence of a diocesan teacher of Christian ethics, recklessly to impute a base fraud to his neighbors and fellow citizens; for right well does the Right Reverend gentleman know, that the guilt of thus making such an imputation is, in a moral point of view, but little behind the guilt of perpetrating the fraud itself.

I propose, now, Sir, through the medium of the Free Press, the same that has given currency in this part of the country, if not approbation, to the fraudulent charge, to furnish some evidence in the case: not conclusive, I readily admit; but such as will, I think, be found worthy of consideration by all who have an interest in the subject; especially worthy is it of the respectful consideration of the Right Reverend gentleman, in as much as it is fitted in some degree to relieve his mind from the uneasiness it must now be laboring under, by showing him what his generous spirit ought to rejoice to hear, that the abolitionists are, probably at least, innocent of the base trickery which, in his prejudice and rashness, he has unhappily imputed to them.

I became acquainted with Mr. O'Connell in the summer of 1840 whilst attending the London anti-slavery conference, together with some fifteen or twenty other American delegates. Mr. O'Connell was also a member of the conference, and although Parliament was in session at the time, was daily present at the anti-slavery meetings, partaking in the proceedings. As soon as Mr. O'Connell had learned that his countrymen, who had sought in the United States, a higher liberty than they were permitted to enjoy, or even hope for in the land of their birth, had been beguiled into co-operation with parties here opposed to liberty, with parties who were seen rivaling each other to gain the favor of slave-breeds and slave-sellers, the great enemies of American liberty, and this by incessantly heaping on the abolitionists, (the only party representatives of the cause of liberty among us,) all manner of obloquy, contempt, injustice and oppression, the propriety of an address to them, by an old, well known and well tried friend, very naturally suggested itself to him.

Mr. O'Connell seemed to think, that all that was necessary to be done to insure for his American countrymen such a course in future, as he felt confident was in strict union with their unperverted feelings and judgment in every

conflict between freedom & slavery, was to bring them seriously to reflect, to exhort them faithfully but affectionately to turn from their error; and to tell them how much they have grieved their fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters and their whole kind and kin left behind, by dishonoring the cause of liberty now everywhere associated with the name of Irishmen.—Mr. O'Connell at once gave the American delegation to understand, that, if he could command the necessary time from his official and other indispensable duties, he would prepare an address in his own name, before they should sail to the U. S. Multiplied and incessant public engagements, it is supposed, prevented him from doing so.

My last interview with Mr. O'Connell was in October 1840, a few days before I sailed for New York, at a repeal meeting in Dublin. Notwithstanding his almost unremitting personal occupation for three or four hours during the meeting, he found time before he left it, to speak to me about the address; and to assure me, that it was among the last things he said, that I might rely on its being neither forgotten nor neglected—and on its being written and sent to this country as soon as it could be prepared. That it was not sent out as soon as it was expected, was, doubtless, owing to the judicious change of the original plan, and to the time required for obtaining the signatures of sixty thousand of his countrymen, who desired to be associated with him in the sublime, yet peaceful effort to advance the cause of human liberty on every soil, pressed by the foot, or tilted by the hand of an Irishman.

The address I send you, trusting you will republish it; if on no other ground as a matter of information to which your many Irish fellow citizens in Michigan are entitled from the public journals. It is just such an address as I should expect from the clear and comprehensive mind of Mr. O'Connell in such a case.

It was no part of my object, at the outset of this communication, to examine the soundness of the reasoning, by which Bishop Hughes has been led to declare, "that it is the duty of every naturalized Irishman to reject and repudiate the address with indignation." I shall not insist on doing so at this time, characterized, as every one must see it is, by passion and declamation, and fallacious as it could easily be shown to be; but shall content myself with exercising the right which, as one of the public, but more especially as a maligned abolitionist, I possess of inquiring how far the Right Reverend gentleman has qualified himself for the post of guardian of the public welfare in the premises.

1st. By not being himself an Irish repealer, or connected with the repeal associations in this country.

2nd. By having used his influence with his Irish fellow citizens in this country, to prevent their forming repeal associations; "to operate on questions of (British) domestic and national policy." For if Bishop Hughes is himself a repealer in name—or if he permits himself to be regarded as a repealer—or if he has not rebuked the cause of repeal as it is carried on in this country, (I say this without intending any thing for or against the cause of repeal among us,) well may Mr. O'Connell and Father Mathew, and Dr. Madden and their sixty thousand warm hearted associates in the cause of human liberty, reply to his impassioned objurgations, "Physician, heal thyself."

Respectfully yours,
JAMES G. BIRNEY.

SAMUEL LEWIS, Esq.

Dr. Bailey—

Sir—I have thought that a brief notice of the above named gentleman might be acceptable to all who feel interested in the success of the Liberty Party; as showing what kind of men are denounced as negro-thieves by pro-slavery citizens.

Mr. Lewis's father left the laborious calling of a sea-captain upon the Atlantic, and arrived in the West with a family of small children too early to afford them the means of an early education. The subject of this notice, being the eldest brother, toiled hard, with his father, for the support of his brothers and sisters. When circumstances permitted him to go for himself, he wrought several years at the trade of a carpenter, and afterwards studied law.

By his exertions in connexion with the city council, the revenue for the support of our common schools was increased from some eight thousand, to about twenty-eight thousand dollars. For his laborious and successful services rendered to the school system the thanks of the city council were tendered to him by a formal and appropriate vote.

Woodward College, it is well known, owes its origin and present success, under its able Faculty to Mr. Lewis's zeal for the education of the children of the poor. At his suggestion the benevolent founder, Mr. Woodward, endowed it as a school where fifty indigent children and orphans are to be perpetually instructed free of charge; and, from its commencement, the care and application of the institution's funds have mainly devolved on him, now the only surviving life trustee.

After several years devoting himself to the common schools of this State as their superintendent, finding his health impaired, Mr. Lewis retired from public business, and left Cincinnati for his farm in Mill Creek Township where he now resides, contributing, according to his strength to the advancement of society in prosperity, knowledge and piety.

The open and decided stand which Mr. Lewis has taken against the encroachments of slavery is the more note-worthy, as he has been an approved member of the Methodist Episcopal church since nearly thirty years; and now uses the license of a local preacher, attending most of the funerals occurring in his neighborhood; and it requires no small degree of firmness for so prominent a member as he has been, to come out against the opposing influence of the clergy who unhappily in this region, have perverted that branch of the church from the original design of its founders into a pro-slavery position.

Such are the men who, for merely resisting the aggressions of slavery, are wont to be denounced by pro-slavery editors as fit objects for the vengeance of Southern Lynch-clubs.

CITIZEN.

DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Dr. Bailey—

A right understanding of the decision of the Supreme Court of the U. States in the Pennsylvania and Maryland case seems of sufficient importance to justify some discussion. For the facts in the case I refer to the report as published in the Philanthropist of March 30th. Mr. Meredith of Baltimore, cited the question at issue was this: "Whether a citizen of a slave State going into another State and seizing a slave admitted to be his property could be held guilty of a penal offence, and be subject to punishment for the act." This I suppose is a fair statement of the entire question to which the decision of the court relates. The law of Congress authorizes the slaveholder thus to seize

his runaway slave. The law of Pennsylvania forbids such seizure, and requires the slaveholder to obtain a warrant and the decision of a Judge, &c.

The court decides that the law of Congress in relation to this point is constitutional—the law of Pennsylvania in relation to this point is unconstitutional, the court says is constitutional. On some other points the law of Congress is admitted to be unconstitutional, as where it requires the action of a state magistrate. On all other points the law of Pennsylvania is admitted to be constitutional;—that is, its constitutionality is not denied in its application to any other case than that of runaway slaves. Mr. Meredith, the Maryland lawyer says: "The States may legislate with propriety, to protect their own citizens. The court use a phrase of wider extent and say they do not mean to interfere with the police power of the States to protect their power. This implies that they protect not only their own citizens from injury or arrest but strangers also—transient persons—every person indeed that treads the soil except a runaway slave. The States indeed may protect the slave also from every person but his owner. The court says: "Under the constitution the owner is invested with the right to recapture his slave wherever he finds him, throughout the Union." This I suppose implies that no one but the owner or his agent is invested with such right. Read another sentence from Mr. M.'s argument: "The States may indeed protect the free people of color, or those that come into their limits by their master's consent, but not fugitives from slavery."

He also quotes a decision of Judge Parker of Massachusetts, in which he admits the constitutionality of the law of Congress authorizing the slave owner to seize his slave without a warrant; and adds: "Nor is his intimation that the writ of habeas corpus would lie as a remedy for a wrongful claim, to be understood to defeat this opinion." If Judge Parker's opinion is correct then, (and the court does not deny it) a writ of habeas corpus may be employed to protect, not a slave from his master, but every other person from a wrongful claim that he is a slave. The question to be tried under the operation of such a writ is this: Is the person arrested a slave, and is the claimant his owner, or the agent of his owner? And in behalf of a person who claims to be a citizen of Ohio, it is the magistrate's duty to require full proof of both these points by impartial testimony. Or if according to the law of Congress one of the parties admitted to testify, the other should be admitted to the same privilege. If however the person arrested proves to be a slave arrested by his owner, no law is broken—the slave catcher must not be punished. But if he proves to be a citizen of Ohio, the kidnapper derives no protection from the decision of the court under consideration. He is subject to all the penalties of the laws of Ohio for kidnapping. To illustrate this subject I will suppose a slaveholder in Kentucky walking the street in Covington in the dark of evening, and meeting a citizen of the town, takes him for one of his slaves with whom he is offended, and unceremoniously knocks him down and lashes him with a cowhide; does any one suppose he would be liable to no punishment for thus abusing a fellow citizen? If the man thus abused is his slave there is no redress. No law is broken. But if he rashly and by mistake assaults a fellow citizen, he must answer for it to the law. The case is precisely the same in Cincinnati that it would be in Covington. A slaveholder pursues his runaway slave; thinks he has found him, and assaults and beats him, and finds out when he has done it that he has been beating a citizen of Cincinnati—perhaps a white man. He is in the same sense answerable to our laws, that in the other case he was to the laws of Ky. He has the same power in Ky., and certainly no more.

I say nothing about the correctness or justice of the decision of the Supreme Court of the U. States. It is certainly bad enough when we make the best of it. But in one respect it seems to me to have done us a favor. It nullifies our black laws so far as they assist the slaveholder to retake his slave. The court expressly says: "The States cannot legislate either in aid of or against the slaveholder." On the other hand the decision leaves our laws against kidnapping as far as they apply to all other persons except runaway slaves, in full force.

M.

LIBERTY PARTY CONVENTION.

At a meeting of the friends of the Liberty Party, held at the Court House in Medina, Medina county, in pursuance of a call for that purpose, on the 7th of May, inst. the Convention was called to order by C. Olcott Esq., and on his motion Darwin E. Bowen was appointed Chairman, W. H. Brainard Secretary. The objects of said meeting having been explained by Esq. Olcott, on motion of Dr. A. Beatty, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That an executive committee of five be appointed with authority to call county meetings, correspond with the State and other county committees, and other friends, and, if thought advisable, to publish an address to the electors of this county; and to adopt all other measures that may be expedient to promote the best interests of the Liberty Party.

The following named persons were appointed to the committee, viz:—C. Olcott, A. Beatty, D. E. Bowen, W. H. Stickney, and Wm. N. Pardee.

Mr. Barnard, who had been chosen Secretary, being absent, Wm. N. Pardee was then appointed Secretary.

Mr. Olcott offered the following resolutions, which, after some discussion, were, on his motion, laid on the table to be printed with the proceedings of this convention, viz:

Resolved, That the practice of slavery as it has existed and now exists in the United States, is the principal cause of all the public discord, strife, embarrassment, loss and distress in the country, political, civil, and financial, and is for this reason, the greatest political as well as moral evil in the country; and that those who support a protective tariff or the want of one, the paper money banking system, a National Bank, a Sub-Treasury, or any other objects of ordinary party strife in the country, are, either separately or collectively, such a principal cause, however honestly they may have done so, are entirely mistaken.

Resolved, That until this principal cause be removed by its entire abolition, no reasonable hopes whatever can be entertained of any description; and with this view of the subject, we hereby pledge ourselves, as political as well as moral men, to preserve therein until its entire abolition is effected.

Resolved, That any kind of just and righteous political action, is moral action also, plainly declared to be such in the scriptures and in the law of nature, and that those who pretend, whether honestly or otherwise, that such action is not of a moral nature and agreeable to the Divine will and appointment, are entirely mistaken.

Resolved, That those who may happen to differ from us in opinion on the merits of these resolutions, be and are hereby respectfully invited to meet us in public debate on those merits without distinction of party, agreeable to such rules of fair debate as we shall propose at the time, at our next meeting at the Court House in this county.

Dr. Beatty then offered the following resolutions, which, after a short address from the Dr. and some remarks from Esq. Olcott in the illustration of the resolutions, were severally adopted, nem. com.

Resolved, That the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings by his resolutions in reference to the Creole affair, is entitled the thanks of northern men and the friends of the Constitution, for defending it so ably against the wicked attempts of our pro-slavery government to get us into an unjust war for slavery; which would bring upon us the indignation of God and the world.

Resolved, That the Hon. J. Q. Adams, is also entitled to the gratitude of American citizens, for his able defence of the right of petition.

Resolved, That so long as Texas recognizes the right to hold property in man, we have no affinity for her. And we will, do all in our power by petition and other lawful means, to prevent her annexation to the United States.

Resolved, That it is utterly inconsistent and hypocritical for men to talk, preach, and pray against slavery, and then vote for pro-slavery men.

Resolved, That we will give our cordial support to Leicester King for our Governor; and that we approve of the Address and Resolutions generally, of the State Liberty Convention, held in Columbus in Dec. last.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretary, and forwarded to the Philanthropist, Cincinnati, and Declaration of Independence, Cleveland, for publication;—and that the papers of this village, also, be requested to publish the same.

A motion was then made, that the Executive Committee be instructed to call a Convention or meeting for this county on the 4th day of July, at 10 o'clock A. M., and to procure some person to deliver an address on the principles, objects, plans, and the duties of the Liberty Party; which passed in the affirmative.

The Convention then adjourned, sine die.

DARWIN E. BOWEN, Ch'n.

WM. N. PARDEE, Sec'y.

TO THE LIBERTY MEN OF OHIO.

FRIENDS! are you awake! are you up and doing? If so, what are you doing? Let us hear from you. Here, in Hamilton, we are doing somewhat. We have made a Liberty Roll. We are getting all the signers we can. We want each signer to get another and so on. We will be content and think we have done enough when every voter has signed. We find the plan works well—better than any club or other organized association. Every man, who loves liberty and is willing to manifest his love of it by his votes, should be willing to sign such a declaration, as is put at the head of our Roll. But every man is not willing to become a member of a club or any other Society. Still we have no objection to clubs, provided they are made heavy enough, and wielded efficiently enough to knock despotism in the head;—nor to any other instrumentality proper for the furtherance of our great end.

We give below a copy of the declaration which we prefix to our roll, and we hope that in every county in the State, and in every township a similar roll may be circulated. If there is a township where there is but one Liberty voter, let him consider himself a committee for the Township—write a declaration—ours, if he likes it—if not, one of his own such as he likes—never forgetting the part about voting for King and Constitutional Liberty.—Let him sign it himself and then get signers.—He will probably find more in his township than he thinks. In one of the wards here a Liberty man began to act, knowing but one besides himself who would probably join him. In that ward, there are now twenty-six signers of the Liberty Roll. We hope it will give a hundred votes for King and Liberty.

Let Committees be formed in every county to which all township committees, voluntary or appointed, may report the state of the roll. Let these reports be sent to the Columbus Freeman, Declaration of Independence, Philanthropist or any other Liberty paper, to encourage and stimulate others to action.

FRIENDS! won't you take these hints in good part—think about them—and act upon them? OLD HAMILTON.

Liberty Roll.

Being fully satisfied that slavery is evil in itself and the fruitful source of innumerable evils, moral, social, and political; that every American citizen is responsible for its continued existence wherever it can be reached by the Constitutional action of Congress, and that it is indispensable to the prosperity of free labor, to the security of personal rights, and to the permanency of our free institutions—that slavery hereafter be restricted within the limits of the Slave States and that the government, State and National, be delivered from the usurpations of the Slave Power. We, the undersigned, citizens of ——— county do hereby declare our intention to use all proper efforts to secure the election of Leicester King as the next Governor of this State, and to employ all other fair and honorable means to advance the great cause of Constitutional Liberty.

NAMES. RESIDENCE.

And here is another form, for we are not so strait-laced, as to desire to see all our friends in one uniform.

Liberty Roll.

Being fully convinced, that slavery is wrong in itself, and the fruitful source of innumerable evils, moral, and political; that every American citizen is politically responsible for its continued existence, wherever it can be reached by the Constitutional action of Congress; and that it is indispensable to the prosperity of free-labor, the permanence of our free institutions, and the establishment of Justice throughout the land, that such men be elected to office, as will go to the extent of their constitutional power in opposition to the principle and practice of slavery, and for the deliverance of the general Government from the usurpations of the slave power—

We, the undersigned citizens of ——— county, do hereby declare our intention to use all proper efforts to secure the election of Leicester King, as the next Governor of this State, and employ all other just and honorable means, to advance the great cause of Constitutional Liberty.

NAMES. RESIDENCE.

OUR ANNIVERSARY.

We call the attention of our friends to the following, in regard to our Anniversary.

For the Philanthropist.

Mt. Vernon Ohio, April 24th.

At a county meeting held at this place on the 22nd inst., for the purpose of making arrangements for the coming Anti-Slavery Anniversary, to be held on the 7th of June, at this place. The following resolution was passed unanimously, and a committee of seven appointed to make suitable arrangements:

Resolved, That we do heartily approve of the appointment of Mt. Vernon as the place for holding the coming Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society, that we will give a cordial welcome to the friends of the oppressed, and make as far as possible, all necessary arrangements for their reception and comfortable entertainment.

Committee of Arrangements.

Hugh Cooper, Prosper Rich, Ben. McCracken, John Trimble, Charles Cooper, Luther Fenneman and J. J. Stone.

The delegates when they come into town, will call on the committee, at H. Cooper & Co's store on South East Corner of the Public square where they will be attended to as far as accommodations can be had.

DAVID BIXBY, Pres't.

J. J. STONE, Sec.

LETTER TO THE HON. HENRY A. WISE.

Dr. BAILEY:

In the recent astounding but most happily ominous movements of the slave power in Congress, an attempt was made to identify the Abolitionists of this Country with a British party for the subversion of our Government. As puerile as was the attempt, & as full of fury as was the misguided and pitiable man who made it, it has occurred to me that some notice of him by myself might interest some minds, and aid in our present struggle for liberty, especially, as he announced my humble name among the conspirators, and basely maligned the Philanthropists of the old world, with whose sympathy and confidence I have been favored, and who intensely desire, the perpetuity of the FREE Institutions of this Country.

To the Hon H. A. WISE.

Dear Sir:—By your recent movements in the Congress of the U. States, in reference to slavery, you have directly and essentially contributed to its overthrow. Such aid, though not coveted by the friends of liberty is not underrated. We prefer, that you should at once become a free man yourself and nobly sustain the personal rights of MAN; but if you will blindly and continually trample upon them, we are glad when your advocacy demonstrates that the position you occupy would convert our Government into a despotism. When slavery is unmasked by its abettors we like it. And when the slaveholder winds himself up in his own coil, we cannot but hope that our country may yet be saved.

To freedom, that is a precious hour that witnesses the exposure of a wicked combination, and the triumph of righteous principles. Whether you have succeeded in your efforts to prove a conspiracy, and whether the materials at your command, are such as to render the course you have taken on this point, a compromise either to your sagacity or judgment, the public will judge, and be slow to pronounce opposition to slavery, proof of a recklessness towards the best interests of the slaveholder, or of treason against the country. When I say that as a slaveholder, you sustain the unalterable woe inseparable from the slave system, I merely state a known fact. But your position is assumed when you state that, as an abolitionist, I am a foe to the union. To the extent which the union protects the citizen in his personal and constitutional rights, it is valuable. This object fully gained, the union is indissoluble. But just so far as it fails to give this protection, it is a nullity of course. He then is the foe to the union who denies, or withholds the protection of law, from any individual person under the government. This union was established for freedom. Make it the shield of slavery, and it vanishes.

It is the occasion of just and deep grief that an American citizen, and especially one who occupies a seat in the "American Congress," should be so misled. I cannot conceal my chagrin at the aspect of the slaveholder before the world, and at the revolting spectacle of a Congress of Republicans, boasting under a feverish sensibility of liberty, and with the same breath cleaving down the dearest rights of the people. As it is a fact, that American slaveholders believe that all the rest of the world are smitten with the same blindness on this subject with themselves! What a strange group congregated in the chamber of your heated imagination. A patriot of the stamp of John Quincy Adams seeking to dissolve the union! Joseph Sturge, an English friend, of sterling virtue and of quenchless benevolence, a foreign emissary to sap the liberties of the United States, visiting Washington city as a spy? Abolitionists in league with Tyrants! The world convention combining against the American government! And forsooth, the only conservative influence lodged in the system of southern slavery—the only measure which will prevent the catastrophe, the immolation of the right of speech, of petition and of judgment; and the slaveholder or who habitually crushes all the personal, social and conventional rights of a brother man, the only genuine lover of freedom and the true friend of his country, and the guardian of her honor!

Yes, I was a member of the world's anti-slavery convention. Had you been there, I feel assured that no one would have hindered you from pouring out all your heart and argument in support of slavery. The friends of liberty impose no gag. In that body we could all speak freely for liberty and righteousness. The spectacle was novel and imposing. Five hundred men to mingle their tears and sympathies for the oppressed, to speak unrestricted of the oppressor, and in honor at his deeds, breathing the spirit of genuine and universal philanthropy, of one mind on the great one object of its meeting, and immovably resolve to toil on till the chains shall drop from every slave. Well might the friends of the slave mingle their joyous anticipations at the moral sublimity of the scene. And well too may the slaveholder recognize in it the index of his certain and hastening defeat. American slavery occupied a very prominent place in the deliberations of this convention. The American slaveholder was viewed as he is, and stood forth in his costume of deathless notoriety. Nor did any American present feel that he was required to justify or to palliate, as facts upon this most revolting and painful subject were developed. I could not be surprised that Daniel O'Connell should exclaim, "How perfectly monstrous is the idea that America, free, glorious America, should send a slaveholder to represent her Republic at the Court of St. James. She makes herself the laughing stock of every aristocrat in Europe; she brings herself into contempt. She does not realize, perhaps, how this looks in European eyes. She is inflicting perhaps as great wrong upon Europe as upon Africa. She throws a strong barrier against the progress of free principles—her example. Oh! her inconsistency. The God of liberty, and the demon of slavery worshipped around the same altars."

Your charge of treasonable designs upon the American Abolitionists and European Philanthropists can have no basis but in the assumption, that the union of the several States and the liberties of the people can not survive the extinction of slavery; as if the strongest antagonist of freedom were the element essential to its perpetuity, a sentiment which can find no lodgment but

in the mind of a slaveholder. With what justice might I retort upon yourself and all the unhappy men of quenchless lust for irresponsible power, the imputation, so long as you rob the laborer of his wages, lacerate the shrinking flesh of woman to compel her submission, and are pampered by the sweat and blood of a crushed brother. The philanthropists of Europe are among the best and noblest of our race, and the most forward to rejoice in the developments and confirmation of the principles and institutions of freedom in the United States. These facts were the most prominent in the world's convention, accompanied by the expression of deep regret at our hypocrisy as republicans, with one sixth of our citizens bought and sold like cattle, and the slave power predominant in our National Legislature. There were no discussions in that body of liberty men, respecting the form of any civil government. The members had convened for far other and higher purposes; to solicit respectfully, but in earnest, the attention of all rulers and people, to the inherent enormity of holding property in man, and to see in the name of humanity, truth and justice, that they desist immediately from all and every participation in this greatest of crimes, and that those who at this age of the world will chattize a brother, may feel the blighting power of an indignant, righteous public sentiment. The respectful address of this convention has been sent to the different governments of Christendom, and by all I believe, has been well received, and met with a respectful response, except by the President of the U. States and by some of the State authorities of this Republic. Here you know this address has been condemned. Not by the despotism of Spain, but by the republicanism of free America. What a fact is this! Why? Why? Liberty weeps—Freedom groans—consistency blushes—even at the thought. And I envy not the feeling, Mr. W., which can exult over such a fact.

The members of the Convention did not indeed, annihilate their political preferences by an enrolment as delegates. They were moved to this effort by sympathy for man—for oppressed humanity. Slavery in every form and under every government, was deprecated and bewailed. But their deep thoughts and best desires were directed especially to the sin of the white man in making the black man his slave, and to the removal of the degradations, the woes and the unutterable injustice practiced upon the latter. Of course, enquiries were made for the state of things in this country. And what less sympathetic could be the emotions of grief, astonishment, and horror at the sight of the declaration of our Independence, and the freest constitution of the most free government on earth, as the covert and even protection of a system of oppression, the "cruellest under the sun." With us, man is made a thing amiss the lowliest and most promising aspects of liberty, the most rich developments of Christian ordinances, and among the people the very loudest in their boasts of freedom.

If Republican America will persist in the heaven during violence of making her colored population slaves, it is impossible that her white people can long be free. If political and civil liberty expire on the very soil in which Washington and his co-patriots are entombed, her faint hopes on earth are extinguished. The only dependence for the rescue of the oppressed of every description upon a regenerated and correct public sentiment. But if such a sentiment cannot be formed in a Christian country, where can we look for it? You perceive then, that ineffable interests gather about the vile system of American slavery; and in what light yourself and all your associates, touching this one matter, are regarded by genuine philanthropists of both hemispheres; as in fact in practice the real enemies of liberty, the very pillars of despotism, and as presenting the pitiable though revolting spectacle of men, but for their misdeeds here, of noble hearts and hearts, actually sapping the foundation of the very government they extravagantly eulogize, and kindling a slow fire in the same temple on which they lavish establishments. Philanthropists, allow me to say American abolitionists, would break the small of this American fatal infatuation.

A sagacious politician long since remarked:—"I take care of a people who pray before they act." Your recent encounter with the "venerable member," must have taught you that moral courage loses none of its power in one who is conscious that he is on the right side of the question.

The philanthropists in the world's convention well understood the doctrine of human rights, and very cheerfully give their money, efforts and prayers to sustain them. Because they love our country, they detest our slavery. They avow what all might see, that liberty and slavery cannot long co-exist under the same government. They refer to the doings of our Congress, in proof that already to a fearful extent, our liberty is nominal, and regard it as a misnomer, to call the slave state the abode of freedom. So long as the people elect for legislators men who oppress them they are voluntary slaves the bondage which degrades them. The direct and certain influence of this convention will strengthen the principles of freedom, and of course aid in the continuance of the union of these States. The consummation of their warmest wishes would be secured by the prompt acknowledgment on our part, of the inalienable rights of the Negro race, anticipating as the national and natural results, the best good to the oppressor, the perpetuity of free principles in this western hemisphere, and such developments, in the progress as would carry the wave of a righteous reformation far and wide. And when the convention proposed for 1843 shall open, the members will, of course, enroll the name of John Quincy Adams among the noblest benefactors of his race, while the names of the faction against him in the Congress of 1842, will necessarily have found their appropriate niche in the appropriate temple.

I passed nearly 18 months in an extended intercourse with British Society, not indeed on terms of intimacy with the aristocracy, but among the intelligent and virtuous who constitute the heart and worth of the Nation, & uniformly found the existence and the expression of a warm and deeply seated interest in the welfare of the people of this country and its institutions, slavery always excepted, and the hearty wish that American liberty may be perpetual. The same noble, warm-hearted indefatigable philanthropists in Britain, who so purely, and righteously condemn our slavery, are directing their sleepless energies to the removal of every species of oppression within their own dominions, that British power may be, every where the foe of tyranny, and the protection of freedom. And I beg you to remember that their movements are respected and their petitions heard and honored by their Government, though a monarchy, and often on a course which they boldly and fearlessly disapprove. A gentleman whom I met at night, in the street in London conferred a favor by giving me the best direction to a particular point in the city which I was in haste to reach. I thanked him for thus obliging me to a foreigner. He instantly turned upon me with the query,—"foreigner! from what country? I replied from the U. S. His countenance assumed a generous glow as he strongly and very respectfully said, "Sir, you are not a foreigner, you are my brother." This, Mr. Wise, is the genuine British feeling towards the people of the United States. Whatever may be the designs of men in power, the people of Britain love America, and most devoutly deprecate a war with us, and I can find no terms too strong to express my abhorrence of the conduct of those men who seek occasion to blow into a war flame the animosities which a certain class of politicians among us are known to cherish. I received, even from the Duke of Sussex, the youngest son of George the III. the expression of his full approval of our form of Government, and of the hope that it might be preserved. As chairman of the immense public meeting held by the

convention in Exeter Hall, the "Noble Duke" made a genuine democratic speech. You do great injustice to the intelligence and good sense of an American citizen, as well as to the philanthropists of Europe, when you represent the latter as at all disposed to interfere with the rights or the political concerns of this nation. You assume more than will be conceded to you, when you demand that the violence of the slaveholder shall receive even the silent sanction of all the world besides, and that men transcend their powers who speak freely of the most wicked abominations of this violence. How slow are American slaveholders and their abettors to learn that there is nothing to sustain them in their violence, not even to form the semblance of an apology either in the principles of justice, or in the inspirations of liberty, or in the elements of benevolence, or in the nature of law, or in the attributes of God. Their murderous ferocity against the right of petition and the freedom of speech; their howlings at the approach of an abolitionist; their agony at the presence of a newspaper reporter, and the reading of a liberty document in their deliberative assemblies; their threats of assassination to Liberty men if caught in their jurisdiction; and their universal approbation of the lynch code, demonstrate to all but themselves, that they have no confidence in the correctness or justice of their position, and that their cause is necessarily suicidal.

Abolitionists can bear reproach, if their undiluted advocacy of the truth, and their espousal of the slave's cause be the only reason for it. I greatly misapprehend their character, if, Sir, you do not, in your greatest needs, find them your best friends and most efficient helpers. Not indeed to aid you in riveting the chains upon the slave; nor to sympathize with you when the inexpressible love of freedom in the humanity you chastely converts by flight what you shamefully and most wickedly call property in MEN; nor to associate with your bloodhounds, as the most despicable of hirelings, to chase them in their most commendable flight, so full of chivalry—but to aid you in the kind, and protracted labor necessary to prepare the slaves to appreciate and enjoy their liberty, as estimable and quiet citizens. Rely upon it, Sir, the time is near when you will need such aid. You now unhappily regard them as your foes. This is because you delight in wrong and violence, and make the body and mind of a brother your footstool, and gratefully, presumptuously, assume that you cannot be free, unless the man who does your work is a slave. But let this same brother, prostrated and robbed by your own hand, stand up before you as it is his right to do, a free man, and pay him his wages; and suffer your enthralled judgment to be guided by truth, and you will see, in the genuine abolitionist, the only consistent republican, and welcome him to your councils.

My agency to Britain was in aid of the Oberlin Institute, which receives students irrespective of color, and which in a strong and practical sympathy with the oppressed colored people in this country is doing much for their relief. To redress their wrongs, and to give them a place as citizens, is a work of great self-sacrifice and labor, demanding patience, faith and cheerfulness. In this work, which must be accomplished to rescue our country from approaching ruin, the Oberlin Institute will do all it can, and rejoice in all that is achieved for the same end elsewhere. Its students have already furnished upwards of 33 years of school teaching to the colored people in Ohio, more than half of which has been without any pecuniary compensation, and all accompanied with self denial and obloquy. And they find fields of labor among the colored people in the other states, in Canada and in the West Indies. Your good sense will suggest that such intricate measures are indubitably of great service.

Our friends gave their money in aid of this Institution as a testimony against American slavery; and in sympathy with the oppressed black man and his friends, and to show their attachment for American liberty, and to show the continuance of our slavery will be the sacrifice of the freedom of the country. No donation was received from any individual, or in any way, which gave any expression of the views of the Government of that nation, or any office under it towards the Government of the U. States; and the attempt to prove the existence of an English party among us, and that abolitionists are in British pay, savors too much of sheer political infatuation to deserve a notice except for the information of a class of people who have, unhappily, been too long misled. Various institutions of learning in this country have received British money, and far greater sums. I have no doubt, that were bestowed upon Oberlin, and who ever thought of classing the agents, who collected this money, with foreign enemies, plotting the overthrow of our liberty, or of republishing these scenarios as having forfeited their charter, and public confidence. Liberty and science have been regarded as twin sisters. But it seems that even literature must be put under the ban, if the black man is permitted to share in its blessings, and its hopes and energies are arrayed against the American slaveholders.—Be assured, Sir, of my earnest wishes for your speedy return to sober sense and common justice in your treatment of the rights of the people, irrespective of color, and of my continual prayers that the whole mass of slaveholders in our land may see and feel that usurpations over the slave give him no divine right to assault the liberties of freemen; and that they may hasten to place themselves, on the subject of human rights in a correct and just position before the country, in the estimation of christianism, at the bar of reason and justice, and in the sight of God.

Respectfully,
JOHN KEEP.

For the Philanthropist.

Extract of an Address delivered at Dover, N.H., by the Rev. Asa Donaldson.

A voice from the West; but it echoes back from the East and over the South.

After ages of night had hung over the subject of slavery, we rose to action in behalf of the suffering, directed by the feeble glimmering of twilight. That the course of action should be raised in our onward march, was to be expected. This occurred in the rising position taken in the temperance reformation, as it progressed onward, without changing the essential features of the object. In its incipient state, it presented some feeble action to regulate the use of ardent spirits, without attempting its exclusion. Next, some bold action for its banishment. Subsequently the traffic was pronounced an immorality, which to many seemed the highest darning of ultraism. Next, in order, the hosts were marshalled against wine, and all that can intoxicate: and Teetotalism has come to be regarded as the only effectual reformer. Last of all, Drunkards rose to reform drunkards, and Washingtonians are gloriously waving on their banners.

The time has now come to elevate the standard of Anti-slavery action, and to give a new edition of its flag; on which we will inscribe the following title and motto. TITLE. Northern Freedom and Anti-Slavery. MOTTO. White slaves at the North must be released from putting on the chain, and Black slaves at the South from wearing them.

Northern freedom is involved in this enterprise, because the South are represented in Congress, partly by the number of free persons, and partly their property in slaves; while the North are represented only by the number of free persons. By 25 Southern representatives, sent there, by their bills of property, the scale is turned in favor of the South, on most questions which come before Congress, involving our opposing interests. Were the

north permitted to add to the number of their representation upon the same ratio, by any estimate of property, it would give the north more than 50 additional representatives in Congress.

The constitution enclaves us to the South, in the important service of helping them hold their slaves, tho' it may be against both our will and conscience, and without reward. Were it a matter of national interest, it might be made a matter of national compact, but now the north are forced to support the sectional interests of others. In all other cases, sectional interests are left to the action of state legislation, as their right; provided they do not encroach upon the rights of other portions of the union; but southern slavery encroaches upon the rights of conscience even, by a compulsory power of the constitution.

Therefore to assert the right of freemen, it becomes necessary for the North to act with union and decision for an alteration of two items of the constitution of the United States. One in Art. I. Section 2. item 3. The other in Art. IV. Section 2. item 3.—That in Art. I. first in these words:—"Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to numbers: which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a number of years, and excluding Indians, not taxed, 3-fifths of all other persons."

The other in Art. IV. is as follows:—"No person bound to service or labor, in one state under the laws thereof, escaping to another, shall in consequence of any law or regulations therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered upon claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

By the above ratio of representation the man who has 5 slaves, has the same weight of representation as four of our northern freemen, (northern slaves, I should have said) if he has 500 slaves he balances against 301, and if 1000 against 601.

In 1833 Mr. Adams said in Congress, that it would be easy to prove from the history of this government, that its decisions had been effected by less majorities than the number of representatives allowed to the South by counting their property in slavery; and that it had ever been in fact, the ruling power of this government. Hence, of 12 Presidential elections, 10 had resulted in favor of southern candidates. This article of course recognizes and sustains slavery.

The IV. article which pledges northern help in putting on the manacles makes our influence in slavery the grand influence, more fatal to the slave than all the south can do without our aid. Could the slave clap his hands and sing his freedom song as in Canada, by leaping the boundary line between the slave states and the free, the south would soon resort to the abolition of slavery, as the only means of retaining labourers on their soil.

While the Constitution remains in its present form, the fugitive by falling in amongst us, falls among thieves who have struck hands with his master to render his escape impossible: to doom him to perpetual slavery and deliver him up to death.

Herby, the North are slaveholders; now holding thousands in slavery at the South: Yes, we are all, and every one of us slaveholders. If any are disposed to deny this, let them ask the South to give us a constitution, suffering us to take our land from this work of death. Will they reply with southern affability, most cheerfully shall your request be granted! Will they say we account the northern pledge in the Constitution of no service to us in holding our slaves. No; neither can the fugitive whom we have delivered up, ever feel while receiving the lashes to which we have doomed him, that he has been in a land of freedom, which protects its subjects. Nor can anything wash us from this blood in the sight of God, till we have made our best effort to alter the constitution: for by Heaven's high commands we are forbidden to be partners of other men's sins.

The matter of equal rights you may wave, if it better suits you to have your northern members crushed in every day's sitting of Congress, than to assert your rights; but when the command comes down upon you from heaven with unyielding claims, "be not partner of other men's sins;" then there is to be no balancing of human wills and human whims; but prompt obedience to "thus saith the Lord." You may not say the Constitution cannot be amended, for we should rely on the divine interposition, in such an enterprise, especially as we have assurance, that "promotion cometh neither from the East, nor from the West, nor from the South; but God is the judge; he putteth down one and setteth up another."

We may not even care to know that an effort to alter the Constitution would succeed, in order to our making the trial, for we may rest assured that even an unsuccessful trial would wash us from this sin in the sight of God; while without it, we never can be washed. We should not delay a moment, lest the visitations of heaven upon the South and upon the North may be too swift for us.

Long ago did Thomas Jefferson, tho' a septic, and of a slaveholding state, very justly remark, "I tremble for my country, when I reflect, that God is just."

No well judged veneration for Washington, and for our Fathers should deter us from a manly effort to alter the Constitution: why they have done so much that is noble in giving untold value to the Constitution, that they have left us nothing of good to do, by adding to its excellencies, only to strike out the attendant blot which mar its beauty; and could they now speak, they might indeed applaud us for perpetrating their errors, and immortalizing the influence of those acts of theirs, for which possibly they had need of mercy's cleansing power; if indeed we may account them faulty in the matter in question? for it becomes us to allow that we have not carried out the work commenced by them, and passed over to our hands for consummation. They provided in the Constitution for the abolition of the slave trade at an anticipated period, and it was carried into effect, without prolongation for a single year beyond the appointed time, 1808. This they designed to make the harbinger of complete redemption to the slave: anticipating that the abolition of slavery would soon follow. But what can we, their sons claim to have done to carry out their plans and works of benevolence?—We should imagine that we hear the whisper from the graves, "Ye sons and heirs of our rich legacy of blood-bought liberty, have you done nothing to consummate our design of blessing the slaves with that liberty we purchased for them, as well as for you, our sons? How should we tremble over our neglect, should the grave cumber a voice like this! The thought shall be enough. We will arise speedily; and carrying out the design of those noble spirits, will dispense heaven's mercy to the sons of Africa."

Do you ask how shall we direct our effort, in the great enterprise? The answer is at hand. Let the subjects being sketched in a summary form be elaborately drawn out to the public view, and eloquent appeals be made to the humanity, patriotism and religion of the North; till by the divine blessing you find yourselves in circumstances permitting you to cherish that glow of humanity, which warms your bosoms, and would lead you to bless your fellow men with that liberty, which for yourselves you count dearer than life itself: ever remembering that the Constitution now demands, that you be deaf to the pleadings of your compassion for the poor innocents.

Let a united voice exclude forever from this enterprise the polluting hand of any isolated party. Either in politics or religion. Let all such meddling be reprobated by every man of every name. The moment you identify it with any given party, you enlist against it an equal, or superior force from another quarter.

Had the temperance cause been the cause of a given party, its death knell had long since been sounded in our ears. By a union of all parties, the cry of a union of church and State, once employed as the battle-axe of opposition to the temperance cause, has long been silent as the roar of Noah's flood. All this, because the perverting influence of party action, never found admission in the ranks of the temperance host.

Rightly prosecuted, the cause here espoused must enlist all just principles of humanity, patriotism and religion.

Thus prosecuted, the opposition to be overcome, would not be a hundred per cent. of that overcome in the same way by the cause of temperance. There, a wicked array of habit, appetite and interest, presented a formidable front of opposition; yet the triumph of that cause extended far beyond the boundaries of our nation.

All opposing interests are comparatively feeble at the north, in regard to northern freedom and anti-slavery, if presented as above. But present in any form that may seem seditious—leave out of view our northern participation, as pledged to the South; and let the blighting influence of party action be thrown upon this cause, and we all shall remain slaveholders together; both the South and the North; shall learn too late the well known truth of Mr. Jefferson's well chosen words, that "The Almighty has no attribute which can take sides with us" and hold us up in this sin.

Let us seek wisdom and prosecute this object with zeal which it merits, and we may cherish high hopes that the cause will be made divine by God's blessing which shall bring us off with victories and with songs.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI,
Wednesday Morning, May 18, 1842.

FOR GOVERNOR,
LEICESTER KING.

OUR ANNIVERSARY.

The 7th Anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Mt. Vernon, Knox county, Tuesday, the 7th of June next.

The Societies are requested to appoint their delegates immediately—and it is hoped that our friends will come prepared with warm hearts and liberal hands.

A State Political Convention of Liberty voters, is advertised for the same place on the 8th. We presume it will not meet till the 9th—owing to the sessions of the anniversary of the society.

The duty of preparing for the Anniversary, has left us no time this week for editorials.

OUR ANNIVERSARY.

We take it for granted that we shall have a large gathering at our Anniversary. Mt. Vernon is a pleasant town, in a central part of the state, about 60 miles north of Columbus, of easy access—and the roads will doubtless be in fine order for travel. We expect a large attendance particularly from the Western Reserve. The anti-slavery men of Mt. Vernon have held a meeting, passed resolutions approving of the appointment of the anniversary there, giving a cordial invitation to abolitionists every where, and appointing a committee of arrangements.

We wish it to be distinctly understood, that the annual meeting of the society is not to be a political one. Abolitionists in Ohio have maintained a distinction between society, and political party action. The distinction is becoming more and more prominent. Let all then who hold that it is the duty of the people of this country to seek the immediate abolition of slavery, no matter what their political or denominational distinctions, rally at the Convention in Mt. Vernon.

On the 9th a Liberty Convention will be held in the same place, at which we also hope to see a large attendance. We shall be present at both, for we go for both modes of action.—Others who think differently, may attend either the Anniversary, or the political convention, just as they choose. Anti-slavery men in Ohio are very tolerant—they have no idea of falling out with each other's peculiarities.

A thorough-going abolitionist, who still stands aloof from the Liberty party, some time since wrote to us, that he thought this distinction, we have endeavored to maintain, is too much like a humbug. He is very much mistaken. The distinction does exist in point of fact—and then, by maintaining it, we still secure the co-operation of a considerable number of persons, just like himself, who would be placed hors de combat if the Liberty party were all, and our societies nothing. Besides, we know many, who will act with energy in the party, and on sound principles too, who would take comparatively little interest in the societies.

The time may come, when all kinds of action against slavery, will take the form either of political party, or denominational, action, but all we have to say is,—that time has not yet come.

FEMALE A. S. CONVENTION.

Seventh day morning, 30th of 4th mo. 1842. Pursuant to a previous call, a meeting was organized at Economy, Wayne county, Ia., under the name of the Indiana Female Anti-Slavery Convention.

Lucinda Swain was appointed President, Mary Hockett 1st Vice President, Rachel S. Thornburg 2d do Elizabeth W. Moore 3d do Julia Ann French, Secretary, Malinda Mauley Assistant Secretary, Hannah M. Spillar corresponding Sec, Eunice Stanton Assistant Cor. Sec, And Susan Taylor Treasurer.

Lydia Osborne, Hulda Wickham, Drucilla Unthank, Hannah Hiatt, Hannah M. Spillar, Rachel P. Green, Eunice Swain and Minerva Mauley were appointed a committee to prepare business for the meeting. The business committee reported a roll of delegates, who being called, where mostly present.

1st. Resolved, That this meeting deeply sympathizes with the honorable Ex President J. Q. Adams under his recent prosecution, and with highly approve of the many noble and patriotic courses pursued by him in the House of Representatives of the United States, in support of the inherent right of petition; believing his conduct on that occasion entitles him to the respect and confidence of the American people, and that his name will be handed down as a brilliant example to posterity; while the names and conduct of his persecutors will be lost in contemptuous oblivion, or only be remembered to be execrated.

Whereas, freedom of speech is guaranteed to the people of this Union by their constitution, and is indispensably necessary in transacting business of public policy, therefore

Resolved, That the passing of a vote of censure upon the honorable Josiah K. Giddings by the House of Representatives of the United States, for no other crime than that of freely expressing the will of his constituents, is a violation and subversion of constitutional liberty, and directly at war with spirit of our free institutions—and whereas, all people have an inalienable right to life, liberty and the privilege of pursuing their own happiness—therefore

Resolved, That any infringement of such rights is a violation of the principles of Christianity, and a usurpation of that which belongs to the Deity alone.

3d. Whereas the purifying of the political as well as the natural atmosphere has ever been, and ever must be attended with commotion; therefore

Resolved, That in the signs of the times we can discover no real cause of discouragement, but rather an incentive to more active perseverance.

Whereas we believe the time has arrived for those who profess to commiserate the condition of the slave, scrupulously to examine the ground they occupy, and see how far their conduct corresponds with their profession; if we deny to the slaveholders the right to hold their slaves as property, and exert their labor without rendering an equivalent therefore; how can we have a right to the goods thus obtained, and convert them to our use and gratification? Justice and consistency deny us such a right. Therefore

Resolved, That we will endeavor both by example and precept, to discourage the use of all articles obtained by and through such oppression, lest we be found to strengthen the arm of the oppressor.

5th. Resolved, That we publish an address to the citizens of the nominally free States, And that Lydia Bead, Lydia Osborn, Hulda Wickham, Rachel Way, Elizabeth W. Moore and Betsey Stanton be appointed to use exertions to procure subscriptions for printing 500 copies for circulation.

9th. Resolved, That in view of the benefits which may arise from an attentive perusal of an address issued by a Convention of American women assembled in Philadelphia in 1839, to the Society of Friends, we adopt and republish said address in order to promote its more extensive circulation. And that Hannah Hiatt, Mary Hockett, Minerva Mauley, Rachel P. Green, Rachel S. Thornburg and Emily Gardner be appointed a committee to attend to the publication of 500 copies for distribution. And pay the expense by a draft on the treasuries or otherwise.

10th. Resolved, That this Convention thinks it would have a tendency to advance the cause in which we are engaged if a general correspondence were solicited with the various female Anti-Slavery Associations in Philadelphia and elsewhere; inasmuch as we believe that in union there is strength, and that by acting in harmonious concert, we might more speedily accomplish the objects of the Anti-Slavery enterprise: we therefore authorize our Corresponding Secretaries to take such measures as they may deem expedient to promote the same.

8th. Resolved, That we request the Editors of the Free Labor Advocate, Western Freeman, and Philanthropist to publish the proceedings of this convention, and also the appeal and address which have been adopted by this Convention.

9th. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Convention that we adjourn to meet again at the time of the meeting of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society at Newport in the 9th month next.

LUCINDA SWAIN, Pres.
JULIA ANN FRENCH, Sec.

Intelligence from Africa.

Letters from Messrs. Steele, Raymond and Wilson, the Missionaries who accompanied the Mendians to Africa, were received here on the 11th inst. from Sierra Leone, as late as February 19th, by the British brig "James Hay." They bring much interesting information, a synopsis of which is the object of this communication to lay before the public. They arrived at Sierra Leone on the 15th of January, in fifty days from New York, and all their stores, tools, implements of agriculture, &c. were admitted free of duty, and even without examination. The particulars respecting the voyage are contained in letters which have not yet come to hand. They met with a very favorable reception from the Government there, and also from the English Missionaries, who seemed anxious to lend all the assistance they could to the enterprise.

Dr. Ferguson, the acting Governor, was promoting their comfort and affording them all the aid in his power. He offered Mr. Steele a Government boat, with a crew and a superintendent, if he chose to depart immediately; but he recommended his staying until the arrival of the successor of the late Governor, Sir John Jeremie. On the 30th January, Sir Geo. McDonnell, the new Governor, arrived from England, and proffered every necessary assistance to the missionaries. He expressed himself very favorable towards them and those under their charge, and advised Mr. Steele to proceed on the exploring tour he had contemplated, ascertain the disposition of the people, report to him his success, and state the aid he thought necessary from the British Government.

The health of the missionaries was unimpaired, with the exception of Mrs. Raymond and her infant daughter, who had been slightly visited with the fever, but were convalescent.—The returned Mendians are all well, and under the care of Mr. Raymond at Freetown, which "is situated on the Sierra Leone River, about five miles from Cape Sierra Leone." He is engaged, as far as he can appropriate the time to it, in giving them instruction. He mentions that some of them seemed overjoyed at the idea of recommencing their studies. Some of the Mendians had returned, in some degree, to their former licentious habits, and seemed unwilling to brook control, but by his prompt and judicious measures Mr. Raymond appeared to have checked in a great measure the tendency to return to heathenish life. The liberated Africans at Sierra Leone are from about sixty-six different tribes, and a large part of them are Kossos or Mendians. From 200 to 600, it was conjectured, might accompany the Amistad Africans if it should be thought desirable, when the missionaries have determined on the best location.

On the 3d of February, Mr. Steele, accompanied by Cinque, Ban-na, Fuli-wa, Covey, &c., started on his exploration, from which he had not returned at the latest date. Mr. Dove, one of the English Wesleyan Missionaries, was to have accompanied Mr. Steele, but sickness in his family prevented. Mr. Steele, therefore, was the only white man in the exploring party. Mr. Raymond informs us that a war had broken out about that time among the tribes in the region to which Mr. Steele had gone. Mr. S had a letter from the Colonial Secretary to one of the chiefs who was at the head of this war.

It was at first feared that this war would frustrate the object of his exploring tour, but the war soon terminated, and Mr. Steele was probably prosecuting his object. He will personally be in no danger from their hostilities. Mr. Raymond received word from him a few days after he had left. He was at York, about 25 miles from Sierra Leone. It seems quite difficult to obtain any satisfactory information respecting the Mendian country in addition to what is already known; but Mr. Raymond has obtained through a certain Mr. Parker, who is well acquainted and has traded much with them,

and from other sources, very definite knowledge of the character of the Mendian People.

They are represented as very warlike and some of the greatest slaveholders are in that part of Africa. They even war among themselves for the purpose of getting slaves. If the Mendians who were in this country should return into the midst of their own, it is feared they would be immediately taken and sold again.—It is therefore deemed unsafe, for the present at least, to go back into the interior, and Grand Cape Mount, on the borders of their country, is now supposed to be the most eligible site, as it respects health, &c., for the establishment of the Mission. Here their relatives can have access to them and the mission can be gradually working its way into the interior. Mr. Steele's return however may lead to a different choice of location. Some of the Amistad Africans are found to be Mendians and some to belong to another tribe called Bulloms, and there is some disagreement among them respecting the question with whom the Mission shall be identified. Their eyes are turned to different locations.—This however it is hoped will not be a serious difficulty. Some of them indicate a strong disposition to lay aside their clothing and return to their former savage life of nakedness. One strong incentive to this is the green-gree marks as they call them, which are found upon their bodies. These are marks of honor, diplomas which have great meaning with them. They receive them when they pass through certain branches of learning, or acquit themselves of feats of agility or danger, and are then entitled to change their names or adopt an addition to them and not before.

It will probably require great effort to restrain some of them from a relapse into their former habits. With one or two exceptions they remain firm to their temperance principles, drinking nothing which will intoxicate. The Europeans generally at Sierra Leone, drink wine, ale, porter and brandy so freely that it is not surprising they are frequently taken sick suddenly and that so many sink into premature graves. Some of the youngest of the three Mendian girls, named a Temperance Society before she left America. She had some palm wine which is merely the sap of the palm tree, and when pure and free, without any intoxicating tendency, but would not drink any of it until she had asked Mrs. Raymond, if it was proper drink for a teetotaler. Mr. R. states that he never enjoyed better health, both of mind and body, though he finds he cannot endure near so much hardship as he could in his own country. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, the colored assistant Missionaries, were in good health.

Mr. Raymond had hired a house at Sierra Leone of sufficient size to accommodate all the Amistad Africans and the missionaries, and all their goods. For this house he gave four dollars a week. So-koo-ma, one of the Amistad Africans, had agreed to cook for the whole party at two dollars a month, and have his clothing kept whole. They consume daily about twenty quarts of rice and a shilling sterling worth of fish. The clothes are carried out of town for washing, at some brook, according to the custom of the place, as the town is too dusty to dry clothes in. Mr. R. is getting his tools ready for use, and will be fully prepared for entering upon the performance of whatever carpentry, &c. may be necessary when they have selected a location. The missionaries do not seem at all discouraged, but labor as men who expect to do great things. Should they settle at Cape Mount they will be under the protection of the Government at Sierra Leone.

Two or three slaves had been brought into port by the British cruisers and condemned, and numbers of the slave marts along the coast have been recently destroyed by British ships of war. This will do much to check this diabolical traffic.

These are the leading facts contained in the letters. Others will doubtless soon be received, giving us the result of the exploring tour and the spot fixed on for the location of the Mission.

New York, April 12th, 1842. L. T.

From the Columbus Freeman.

Albany, Athens Co. O., April 20th 1842.

MR. EDITOR:—Seeing a communication in the Ohio State Journal from Nelsonville, in this county, stating that the abolitionists in Athens county would vote with the whigs, we think it proper to send you the copy of our Declaration of Independence of both of the great political parties, that the friends of the Liberty party may see that there are some friends of the good cause even in Athens county.

Preamble and Resolutions of the Liberty Club of Lee Township, Athens county.

When in the course of human events, it becomes proper for men to dissolve the bonds that have bound them to any political party, a decent regard for the opinions of mankind, requires that they declare to the world the causes that impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That when any party appears to have lost sight of the great truths, it is the duty of honest men and republicans to leave such party, and to form a party for the security of these rights.

The history of the two great political parties in our nation, is a history of servile submission to the dictation of slaveholders; to prove this fact be submitted to a candid world.

They have refused to pass laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good; they have as far as was in their power, deprived us of the liberty of speech and of the press, a right inestimable to us, and formidable to tyrants only.

The right of trial by jury has been denied to a part of our countrymen; the means of education have been denied to many of our fellow citizens. The rest of our General Government is made a mart for slaves, bringing our nation into disgrace in the eyes of an enlightened world. Our fellow-citizens have been the victims of lynch and mob law, without being able find redress.—They have disgraced the military fame of our country by employing blood hounds in our armies against the wrong and abused Indian, and the oppressed and down-trodden African. They have refused to encourage free-labor, but have done all in their power to encourage slave-labor. They have refused to acknowledge the independence of a neighboring republic, thereby depriving us of the advantages of a profitable commerce.

In vain have we petitioned for a redress of grievances in the humblest terms; our repeated petitions have been answered by repeated injuries. Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our fellow citizens. We have warned them from time to time of the encroachments upon our rights. We have reminded them of the principles on which our government was instituted. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity. We have conjured them by all the principles of justice and humanity to join us in asserting our just rights. They too, have in most instances been deaf to the voice of justice. Therefore, although it is painful to separate from those with whom we have long acted, every principle of right & duty calls upon us to make the sacrifice. Under the firm conviction that we are acting on the principles of truth and righteousness,

ness, we declare that we hold the parties with which we have formerly acted, as we hold the rest of our fellow citizens, opponents when they refuse to advocate the right, but when they plead for justice, our friends and co-workers.

In thus declaring the cause which has compelled us to a separation, we do not wish to be understood as asserting that all who belong to the two political parties are equally corrupt. We believe there are many honorable exceptions; and that even among the leading and influential, there are some who are honestly striving to bring our government back to the true principles on which it was founded. But we, despairing of seeing this accomplished without a radical change in the principles of said parties, do agree to form ourselves into a club for the promotion and security of our just rights, and the rights of all our fellow citizens, and we pledge to each other our word and sacred honor to use all our energies to support the principles of the Liberty Party of Ohio, as set forth in the address of said Party.

Constitution.—Our club is called the Liberty Club of Lee township, auxiliary to the Liberty Party of Ohio.

We have a president, secretary and treasurer. We meet once a month; at each meeting the president appoints three members to obtain and communicate information in regard to our cause, &c.

A. DAY, Secretary.

Receipts, Pledges and Donations.

From 23rd Jan. to 7th May.

R M Hamilton \$3; Nathan Swain 2; Rev Thos Wilson 2; Geo Sinclair 2; Jos. Gale 1; Alex George 3; Ira M Strong 2; Fuller & Brown 1; R Perry 2; Conkey 1; Rufus Bishop 1; Geo King 2; J & Z Wood 2; J Gillett 1; Israel French 3; W L Miller 2; Dr M Main 5; Dr D Matthews 1; Jos Perkins 2; B Strong 1; J M Edwards 1; Wm Edwards 2; Esq Strain 3; John McCall 1; Dr Jewett 2; P Marsh jr 1; J A Sheld 3; L G Harley 1; Dr N Abbott 3; Thos Cherr 1; E P Barker 2; C Donaldson 2; Wm H Jones 2; M Watson 2; M McKeever 2; Jacob Thomas 1; Jos Smiley 2; G & G Griffith 1; James Kiddell 2; Justin Hilder 4.00; Jos Jolliffe 500; J Wilson 2; Dr W Blackston 3; B Bateman 2; Henry Jomerson 2; Wm Thon 2; Advertising 3; R H Wright 2; Nath Bonner 2; G Hoxson 2; J Briscoe 2; W H Jones 1; Lavinia Edmonston 2; Jos Scott 1; M McFady 2; Wm H Jones 2; Wm H Jones 2; Alfred Johnson 2; Henry Thornbury 1; Sam Wymore 2; M Hact 2; Jos Tipton 2; S Wilson 2; C Durhan 1; N Macy 2; J McCullough 2; Thos Hance 2; H Starr Esq 2; Jos Scott 2; Thos Emery 2; Jas Starr 2; J W Owens 2; Wm Hance 2.00; O Owens 2; S Plumb 2; Thos McGeehin 2; Wm O Hama 2; James Foster 2; S Baldwin 2; Miss R Dunsack 2; Sam Johnson 2; P Voordees 2; B Stinson 2; Jos Trimble 2; N H Davis 3; J B Day 2; H Gynour 2; Thos Tomsett 2; W E Parnell 1; Edw Kenna Esq 1; H G Bates 1.04; D Espy 1.27; J Durant 2; Miss S Union 6; J P Fogg 2; L Beers 6; R P Hibbit 2; Wm Cook 1; H Graham 2; D Baldwin 2; H Needham 2; A Browne 2; J Stephenson 6; H Crookham 2; A Oren 2; Thos Hacton 2; J B Griffin 2; Thos Hacton 2; S Palmer 1; Sam Hall 1; P Daulton 2; Jos Danson 2; Wm Bryce 2; H Boyd 2; H A Shaw 1.20; Advertising 3; Rev Wm Chaffee 2.63; Jos McIntyre 2; Wm Robt 2; Rev C Avery 2; Adam Ames 1; S Williams 1; Jas Fowler 2; W C Foulcand 2; Jas Bunting 2; A Pound 2; A Kellogg 2; S Rhoen 2; E B Howells 2; Wm Dennis 2; Geo McCullough 2; A B Griffin 2; Thos Skinner 2; Lewis Esq 2; E Loomis 2; C G Dick 2; H Thonbury 2; A K Keys 1; O Loomis 2; D M Dudley 1; Jas Morrow 2; Wm Dunlap 2; Wm Dunlap 2; J Fowler 2; B B Huber 2.90; Jos Stiles 2; Rev G C Beaman 2; Thos Bascos 2; H L Wedge 2; N Macy 2; B Sturtevant 2; Thos Plandford 1; S Hubbard 1.27; D McNaughton 3; M G Arden 1.27; Rev C Foster 1.02; D Ramsey 2; J Ewing 2; Corner 2.63; Wm Wharton 1.27; E S Rickard 2; Thos Hunt 2; Cobbin 1.30; C C Case Esq 2; S Page 1; Samuel Read 1; N W Prentice 2; M H Hecox 2; Mr Whitmore 1.62; J S Severance 2; Rev J C Beaman 2; Jos M Sterling 2; Geo M Allen 2; N Pander 4.55; Rev R Dodge 50 Jos Rankin 2; J Ramsay 1; Joel Wood 2; J Ewing 1.62; B Carpenter 1.84; Jos Ramsey 1.02; D Ramsey 2; D Hart 1.12; H B Frazier 2; Jos Vandervoort 2; Wm West 1; Wm Doane 2; Curtis & Austin 2; R K Kirk 2; Dr McElvaine 2; D L Rice 2; Jos A Morton 2; Jos Green 2; N Dicks 2; D House 2; C Thomas 2; J

